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THE
P A R A L L E L,
OR THE
CONDUCT and FATE
OF
GREAT BRITAIN, &c.



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THE
PARALLEL,
OR THE
Conduct and Fate
OF
GREAT BRITAIN

In Regard to our
Present Contest with *France* :

Exemplified from the
HISTORIES
OF
Macedon and Athens.

There is nothing new under the Sun.

SOLOMON.

L O N D O N :
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THE LANCET

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GREAT BRITAIN, &c.

*** F the Esteem of the Public was to
* I * be measured by the Intention of
* Writers, we should find their Praise
or Censure more judiciously dispensed, and
more regarded by the few selected Persons
whose Judgments fix the Standard of Taste,
and whose Opinions are a Guide to our Sen-
timents : But when the loose and idle Ideas
of false Patriotism are spread abroad by the
Pen of a Scribler, it is strange, I say, when
the Public applauds these declamatory Trifles,
B that

that the rest should let their Thoughts remain in Silence, to avoid being overborn with a Storm of Clamour and Impertinence. Yet such are too often the political Writings of the present Age : And all Sciences appear as despicable, when they suffer so unworthy a Prostitution. A Minister (whether from Party-Prejudice I will not determine) seldom fails of suffering by Abuse, or of being exalted with smooth Panegyric ; from the Folly, the Violence, or the bad Intentions of his Cotemporaries.

THESE are the particular Circumstances which have stigmatized the Science in general, and cast an Odium on the Writers without Distinction. Nor is the Aspersion ill founded ; the numerous Treatises, Essays, and voluminous Performances on this Head, serving rather to entangle than unravel the Knots of political Reflections : But the Evil is not to be remedied ; and such is the boasted Liberty of the *English* Press, that every free-born Briton has a Right of exposing himself with Impunity.

HERE let me not be accused of Arrogance or Presumption, nor endeavour to raise my own Fame on the Ruins of another's Reputation.

tation. I profess myself a Novice in the Art of Writing; nor do I imagine that mine will live beyond the usual Date, but will sink into Oblivion with the rest of my Fraternity: So that when I profess I expect no Continuance to my Work, nor Fame from the Publication, I hope my Endavours will be ascribed to a Motive not unworthy of an *Englishman*. For if any Patriot should be warmed by my Exhortations, to a more vigorous Exertion of his Talents for the good of his Country; my End is fully answered, and I shall remain contented with that Reward of my Labours.

To explain the Word Patriot, I shall observe, that he is a Character whom the Bad reverence, and the Good emulate; the Pride and Glory of every Nation; who strives to save a sinking State, by subduing foreign or (what is more critical) by withstanding domestic Enemies: The one effected by Force of Arms, and the other by opposing with Intrepidity the Attacks of Corruption.

A Politician is one whose Qualifications give him a large Insight into public Affairs; his Attention should be quick, his Comprehension clear, and his Judgment solid and

refined ; in short, he ought to be a Man every Way formed to execute what the Patriot does by Inclination : The one is a Patriot in Theory, the other a Politician in Practice.

HAVING fixed the Ideas of the two Characters, we find it is no Impossibility that they should sometimes be connected, altho' by Moderns esteemed a Paradox.

IF this is allowed, and if bright and refined Talents are joined with Solidity of Reasoning, and guided by true disinterested Principles ; ought not such a Man to be honoured and regarded, as the most conducive to the Preservation of a sickly State ?

IN the present Situation of our Affairs, that there is an Occasion for the Exertion of such patriot Principles, will be allowed, I suppose, without Hesitation : An immense national Debt, a long and unsuccessful War, and an ineffectual Peace, are the apparent Causes of a latent Disease.

THE visible Effects are the innumerable Taxes and Burthens on the People, which rather increase than diminish under this Ad——n. I would not here be understood as condemning them for new and uncommon Systems. We have seen the Conduct of their Predecessors productive of the same

same Inconveniencies, and the present Ad——n seem only following their Footsteps. Not that I am of Opinion, their Errors ought at any Time to plead Prescription and Example. But is it not more excusable for a blind Man to walk upon a beaten Track, through ever so dirty a Road ; than attempt a better Way, which his natural Defect renders impossible to find ?

UNDER these Circumstances (bad as they are) we are threatened, by a Power whom Policy and Arms have contributed to render formidable. What must we oppose to this ? Must we be amused with Negotiations, and lose in the Cabinet what we acquire in the Field ? No, let us not any longer depend on so fallacious a Support. Let Resolution and Constancy be our Weapons ; these we can depend upon, these must be effectual. Such did our Ancestors employ, when *France* herself submitted to the Arms of an *Edward* and a *Henry*.

BUT though at this Time our Constitution is so widely different, that we should find no general Assistance, by comparing our own with remoter Ages : And though the Conduct of our Ancestors will not suit with the
pre-

present System of Affairs ; yet the Use of a comparative History, is, I believe, evident.

THE grand End of this Branch of Knowledge, is, that we may assist ourselves in a Comparison ; either by avoiding the Errors, or by taking Advantage of the good Policy of former Times. In this View, there is not only Pleasure but Profit, arising from an historical Narration.

MY Intention, therefore, was to chuse a History adapted to my Purpose ; and after searching the different Periods, I found none so well calculated to answer my Design, as that of the *Athenians* in their War with the *Macedonians*.

LET us endeavour to set their Mistakes as a Mark by which we may steer our Conduct, and avoid splitting on their Example. This however, cannot be effectually compleated, without stating the Views of the Antagonists, and observing how the Means were proportioned to the Ends designed by the separate Parties.

Athens was a Republic which all the Efforts of a popular Faction could not for many Ages enslave ; but their Government was much altered from the Time when their Ancestors had gained the Victories of *Marathon*

rathon and *Platea*: *Pericles* was the Man who broke the Balance of Power, and like *Henry* the Seventh of *England*, destroyed the Influence of the Nobility by a more equal Division of Wealth and Preferment. Their Dominions were large enough to have opposed *Philip*, and their Revenues were proportionable: Being possessed of a flourishing Kingdom by Right, and enjoying *Euboea* by Conquest, their Influence must necessarily be extensive; but their chief Dependence was on their foreign Colonies, which supplied them with the Necessaries of Life; as *England* is from the *American* Plantations. Notwithstanding all these Advantages the People were degenerate; they were vain and indolent; Vices which introduced Corruption by their natural Tendency, and exposed them not only to the open, but the secret Attacks of every Invader. The public Offices were distributed by Cabal and Interest; these were the Authors of Party-Zeal and Prejudice; and these again extended the Influence of Corruption. Their former Prosperity had opened the Way to Pleasure; Sensuality was the next Step, and an indolent Supineness was the Consequence. Unwilling to fight, even for their own Liberty,

berty, they employed mercenary Troops in their foreign Wars ; but with so bad Success, that their Reputation was greatly sunk in the Opinion of their Allies.

THE better Part was sensible of this Deficiency, and their Eloquence brought the People by degrees to a Sense of their Danger ; they found the Designs of *Philip* to be such as tended to the Subversion of Liberty ; they saw the Necessity of preserving a political Balance, not to permit the Arms of one to acquire a Dominion, which would render the whole obnoxious to his Invasion. Such was the Opinion of the wisest Counsellors of *Athens* ; a Maxim confirmed by Experience, and applicable as much to the present Times as to the ancient System of *Greece* or *Macedon*.

LET us suppose the Case our own : Should not we, when *France* shall endeavour by Force or Fraud to extend her Limits, and to settle a Tyranny over the allied States ; should not we, I again repeat, exert that Power and Authority, which have more than once reduced her Dominions to proper Bounds ? Let this be granted, and it will follow, that *Athens* undertook a just War, when she endeavoured to effect a Diminution of the Strength, and put a stop to the Encroachments

ments of *Philip*. The Evil became certain, not barely contingent.

NEVERTHELESS her Conduct is blameable in many Respects ; and in none more apparently than in the Indolence and Supineness, generated by that ostentatious Self-confidence, which made her imagine, that the Name of *Athens* carried Victory to the Side she embraced. But *Philip* instructed her otherwise, and was found equally capable of subduing by War as by Policy. This Monarch, with the most extensive Views of universal Dominion, had a Head as fit to design as his Heart was willing to execute ; his Accomplishments, naturally prodigious, were improved by the most arduous and intense Application ; his Courage in War, and his Constancy in pursuing his Aim, were remarkable ; his unwearied Care, his refined Policy, and his encreasing Power, made him formidable to the most distant, and courted by his neighbouring Powers. But his Heart was as dark and deceitful, as his Words seemed fair and open ; his private Interest was preferred to the most solemn Treaties ; no Oaths, no Engagements could bind, where an Evasion offered a temporal Advantage. Such is *Philip* represented by Historians ; and in the Course

of his Affairs, his Actions will testify the Truth of these Observations.

Greece was divided into several States, the chief Strength of which consisted in their Union; as the Power of *England*, and its Allies, subsists by that indissoluble Connection of Treaty.

THE King of *Macedon* was a common Enemy to them all in general, and equally endeavoured to supplant the whole, by fomenting Divisions or acting Hostilities against some, and laying others asleep with false Professions of Amity and Alliance. He quickly perceived the *Athenians* were the only People capable of putting a Stop to his Designs; and upon attempting to cross *Thermopylæ*, he found himself effectually retarded by a Fleet and Army ready posted to guard that important Passage.

THE Straits of *Thermopylæ* were the Barrier between *Thebes* and *Macedonia*, as the *Flemish* Towns were the Barrier of *Holland* and *France*; and it behoved as much the *Athenians* to inspect the Motions of *Philip*, as it does *England* to have a watchful Eye over *France* and its Adherents.

A Cessation of Arms was concluded on by both Sides, and a Treaty was ratified, which
carried

carried only the Appearance, not the Reality of a lasting Peace: for *Philip's* Conduct was enough to convince every one, that his Intentions were no farther pacifick, than suited with his Convenience. Yet ever fertile in Expedients, his Orators persuaded the *Athenians* that he meant sincerely, while his Actions infringed every Article of the Treaty he had so lately sworn to. Such is *Gallic* Faith, and so far it may be relied on in Matters of Consequence; for if we judge of History, by comparing one with another, we may find the Treaties with *France* (I will not particularize any) violated as soon as formed, and see another *Philip* in the Heart of every *Frenchman*.

BUT to proceed to our Narrative: This last Truce, which may be stiled a barrier Treaty, was broke through as soon as concluded on; *Philip* taking Advantage of the Security of *Athens* broke through the Limits, and ravaging the Allies destroyed their Towns, dismantled their Citadels, all out of Goodwill to the *Athenians*, and the Safety of *Greece* in general.

LET every *Englishman*, when he peruses these Lines, re-consider the Policy of *Philip* not as a mere Event which happened above

Two Thousand Years ago, but as that which might, nay which hath been seen in the late Treaties between *Great Britain* and *France*. Was not every Article of the Peace at *Ryswick*, *Utrecht*, or *Aix la Chapelle* circumvented by Policy, or infringed by Violence? yet while our Arms have laid still, how oft have the Soothings of their Ambassadors retarded all our Attempts, or deceived us with specious Appearances? Such were the Remarks that great Friend to public Liberty *Demosthenes* himself made at the Ratification of the Peace. ‘ What, (says he) has not ‘ *Philip* done to recommend himself to any ‘ of the *Grecian* States, rather than to you? ‘ Are not his Views larger and more extensive than merely affronting you? Yes! But ‘ having universal Subjection in his Eye, and ‘ regardless of Law, Justice, or Equity; he ‘ knew well (O my infatuated Countrymen) ‘ that you were not proper Confederates in ‘ such an Enterprize: he saw too plain that ‘ you. as Friends to universal Liberty, both ‘ from the Constitution of Government, and ‘ your free and generous Spirit, would be a little inclin’d to assist the Favourers of Slavery, even when employed against Enemies. ‘ On the contrary, That you would with ‘ Violence

‘ Violence oppose all Measures, that
 ‘ might tend to such a Consequence.’ Such
 was the Opinion of the greatest Orator and
 Statesman that ever shone in the brightest
 Age of Learning and Science. I have pre-
 served, I hope, his Sentiments, although I
 have purposely avoided a literal Translation,
 that the Parallel might be more plainly dis-
 cerned. But let it be allowed to pursue the
 Orator still farther : ‘ Is not this, he exclaims,
 ‘ a Proof of the highest Regard and Testi-
 ‘ mony of the Veneration he pays to your
 ‘ Generosity? Yes; *Philip* himself owns,
 ‘ that no private Interest can sway you, my
 ‘ Countrymen, to accept an Equivolent for
 ‘ the Slavery of your Allies.’ Such were
 the Words of the *Athenian* Statesman.

LET these Considerations move us ; the
 Danger of our Neighbourhood with *Philip*, in
 the Most Christian Majesty of this Age, is
 I hope plainly seen : but at the same time
 let the Supineness and the wavering Disposi-
 tion of our Allies convince us of our Import-
 tance ; how necessary it is, at this Juncture,
 to exert our Power to hinder that exorbitant
 Dominion from increasing and overwhelm-
 ing our Laws, our Liberty, which it plainly
 designs to attempt.

HAVING

HAVING laid down these Precautions, let us rest awhile to describe the present Power of *France*, that *England* may not only discern the Danger, but at the same Time guard against it with timely Care and Conduct. We all know that in Extent of Country, *France*, by her Incroachments on the neighbouring States, exceeds any whose Dominions are near enough to give her Umbrage ; here she is evidently the Superior : Add to this, if we reflect on her Lands abroad, we find her Settlements flourishing in Wealth and Plenty, remitting the Conveniences of Life to their parent Country ; and well defended from foreign Insults. At home we see, it is true, the Commons in extreme Poverty ; but the Public immensely rich ; we see the People, amidst their apparent Misery, still ready to sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes for the Glory of their Monarch : We see them tamely submit to the Oppression of a military Force, which makes all *Europe* tremble ; we see them chearful, under a Tyranny which they can never exchange for Freedom ; and enriched with the Follies of those with whom they have Dealings. In Policy are they not allowed to excel ? Are not

not their Generals skilled in the Art of War, beyond those of other Countries?

THESE are Points I leave to be decided, by those whose Capacity may enable them to determine with greater Exactness : But this I believe is granted, that the King of *France* is absolute, with a prodigious military Power, a Country full of People ready to obey his Call, and Revenues capable of executing any Project which the most unbounded Desire of Glory could suggest.

THUS I have described, with pretty apparent Truth, the State of our Country with Respect to its Enemies : But before we proceed farther, let us draw a short Parallel of the separate Histories, to preserve Connection and prevent Obscurity, the too general Fault of a political Treatise. We have pursued the Narrative down to the last Peace, as far as the Comparison will hold : For the ensuing Part, let us consider their Conduct with Regard to what may happen, rather than with an Eye to past Events. We have seen the King of *Macedon*, though seated on a Throne environed with foreign and domestic Enemies ; yet by the Insinuations of Policy, and Force of Arms, repel the Attacks of the smaller States ; and lay the Suspicions
of

of others asleep, by the Arts of Persuasion and false Professions of Peace and Friendship. We have seen the Allies of *Athens* harrassed with the Sword of War; we have seen the confederate Cities sold for Slaves; we have seen *Olynthus*, *Amphipolis*, and the rest of the States, perish by the Hand and Deceit of *Philip*; was not *Theffalia* subjected by his Flattery, more than his Arms when under the Pretence of delivering them from Tyrants, he fomented their internal Divisions? did he not introduce, by degrees, that Slavery he affected to extirpate?

Was not this our Case, when our Allies were plundered, our Armies beaten, our foreign Garrisons subdued? Was not *Flanders* (a Country abounding like *Theffalia* in Wealth and Plenty) reduced to open its Gates to the Conquerors? Was it not subdued more by the Louis d'Ors of *France*, than the Arms of *Frenchmen*? And when the Treaty was concluded on, how was it ratified, and what were the Articles?

I shall avoid a Recital disagreeable to the Ears of every *Englishman*, who can feel for the true Good of his Country. But the Peace was made; and both Sides, tired with the Expence and Trouble of a destructive War,

War, which ruined the Commerce of both Parties, were induced to sign the Treaty: A Treaty which has proved an Introduction to fresh Perfidy and Baseness on the Side of *France*, and has opened a large Field of Glory to *England*, if she can steadfastly maintain her Acquisitions, and preserve by Resolution and Fortitude, what the *French* would undermine by Venality and Corruption.

HAVING in this Manner deduced the History of the last Peace, let us review what has past before us, that we may not be bewildered in the Train of Ideas which the separate Histories might excite. I have hitherto only prepared a kind of Prologue to the Play which I am going to introduce, and for that Reason would desire the Reader to consider well the Characters I have given of *Athens* and *Macedon*, that he may not lose the Connection in the Narrative. To this I shall add but one Reflection; that in the Accounts of the Nations, I mean the collective Body, without Reference to any particular Persons.

WE left *Athens* just beginning to enjoy a Peace, the Conditions of which were such, as had she been in a flourishing Condition, it

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would

would have been dishonourable for her to have accepted; but the Treachery of the Confederates, the exhausted Revenues, and above all, the Divisions in her own Body, chiefly contributed to the Event.

THEIR Allies were either unfaithful to their Engagements, or else were tampering with *Philip*; either betrayed by their own Citizens, or through a weak Timidity were bartering for their Lives and Fortunes at the Expence of their Liberty.

IN the Number of these were the * *Boeotians*; a Nation of so heavy a Genius, by Reason of the Grossness and Humidity of the Air, as to become a proverbial Expression; their Situation lay convenient for Trade; but low, damp, and liable to Inundations of the Sea. They were a People just in their private, but insincere with Regard to public Dealings; their Parts were solid, adapted to their Government; Friends to Liberty, but neither specious nor penetrating: They had produced one Commander, who had preserved their Freedom; but after his Death they were reduced to ask Assistance from *Athens*, by
whose

* The Situation of *Boeotia*, seems not very unlike *Holland*.

whose Aid she again flourished and preserved her Dignity : A Service which she repaid with the highest Ingratitude ; for on every Occasion she deceived her Allies, and made it plainly apparent, that if *Athens* was not betrayed, she might impute it rather to Imbecility or Cowardice, than to the Good-will of the *Boeotians*.

THE *Lacedæmonians* were a Nation, who, under the Influence of good Commanders, had extended their Power, and rendered themselves formidable and respected : Their Interests were evidently joined with the *Athenians* to suppress the growing Power of *Macedon*, since *Lacedæmonia* could not stand if the Liberty of *Athens* was invaded. The People, though degenerate from their Ancestors, were grave, solid, and sententious ; just to one another, but cruel to their Enemies ; quick to conceive, slow to execute ; they had not the sprightly Imagination of the *Athenians*, but excelled them in Strength of reasoning and Solidity of Judgment ; and had the Force of their Arms been equal to their Sentiments, they would have been an overmatch for the *Athenians* or the *Macedonians*.

SUCH was *Lacedæmon* at the Time of the Peace ; for by a Succession of weak Kings it was greatly diminished in its Authority over the rest of *Greece*, and was more celebrated for speaking with Judgment than acting with Wisdom ; but still it seemed firmly resolved to exert itself to expel *Philip*, as the Opposer of publick Liberty.

Thessali, weak in itself, and incapable of assisting others, became Slaves to *Thebes* or *Macedonia*, as either prevailed.

THE smaller *Grecian* States were of but little Consequence ; too weak to resist, yet unwilling to submit, they condemned the Conduct of which they were the Practisers.

SUCH were the Allies of *Athens* against the Power of the most politic Prince in *Europe*, whose Influence was much more extensive than his Dominions !

THE *Phoceans*, indeed, were engaged by a strict Bond of Alliance to assist them ; but what could be expected from a Nation so oppressed with the most dreadful Calamities ?

THE *Argives* and *Messenians* hung wavering in the Balance of *Philip* or the allied States

States, in order to throw themselves into the rising Scale.

IN this Light we see the confederate Forces, not assisting, but growing jealous of the *Athenian* Power, which it was their Interest to have cherished and protected.

BUT amidst all these discouraging Circumstances, *Athens* still held up her Head; she mourned the Peace she had concluded, yet was resolved not to be the first to infringe the Treaty: Some pestilent Orators were rash enough to propose such Violences; but their Advice was over-ruled by the wiser *Athenians*, and particularly *Demosthenes*, who, in an Oration composed for that Purpose, used invincible Arguments to prove the Truth of his Assertion. These Arguments are drawn chiefly from the Necessities of their Allies, their own timid Conduct, and their submissive Courtship of *Philip*: ‘ But still (says that
 ‘ excellent Statesman) should we submit to
 ‘ farther Disadvantages? No certainly: The
 ‘ Truce is made, and we have sworn to ob-
 ‘ serve the Articles; but should *Philip* any
 ‘ more violate that Peace, he becomes the
 ‘ Aggressor, and the Allies can no longer be
 ‘ pleased with a General whose Conduct
 ‘ gives

‘ gives them such Cause for Suspicion : In
 ‘ this Case, they must join with you thro’
 ‘ Policy, to avoid a general Oppression.’

SUCH were the Arguments *Demosthenes* made Use of ; and the *Macedonian* soon supplied him with a plausible Reason for commencing Hostilities.

IT has been mentioned that the *Athenians* drew a great Part of their Wealth from their foreign Colonies, which not only constituted the Strength of their Revenues, but were necessary Checks on the neighbouring States, and a vast Accession of Power to their own Republic : They knew their Importance, and, by powerfully supporting them with Forces and Soldiers, convinced their Enemies what a Value they placed on their Trade, and how far they imagined their political Interest was connected with their commercial Advantages.

Philip was too clear sighted not to discern their Views, and with the same Ardour resolved to gain by Conquest, what they had determined to defend to the utmost Extremity. Such was their Situation at the Time of the Peace.

HE had before, taken many Places in *Thrace* from the *Athenians*, with an Intention

tion of settling his Troops behind their foreign Colonies, and by Degrees incroaching upon all their Lands and Possessions; which must ruin their Commerce, and bring them to whatever Terms of Peace he should chuse to impose. He made a Pretence indeed of shewing a Kind of Right, but this was so very frivolous and trifling, that *Philip* himself, though Master of the greatest Art, and capable of rendering the most trivial Circumstances useful, had but little Dependance on any Thing but Force. To this he applied his Thoughts, and began with ravaging the Lands, and destroying the Towns, in the upper Country, imagining perhaps that the *Athenians* would again be soothed with his Professions of Alliance and Friendship.

BUT herein *Philip* himself was deceived; for *Diopithes*, the Commander of the *Athenian* Forces in those Parts, looking upon this Conduct of the *Macedonian* in its true Light, and conscious that the Republic would approve of so spirited and at the same Time so just a Reprisal, suddenly enters *Thrace*, and makes the Subjects of *Macedon* suffer the same Evils they had inflicted upon his Friends and Allies.

Philip

Philip being employed with all his Forces in a different War, was obliged to have Recourse to Remonstrances by Letter, which he gave the *Athenians* with Profusion. That the Letters should be sent and received, is no way strange; but that they should be near taking Effect, is undoubtedly surprizing: Yet such was the venal Disposition of the Orators at that Time, that many were found who would have brought *Diopithes* to a Trial; as if his Defence of the Country and Colonies, was a Crime worthy of Death: The only Difficulty in Dispute, was whether he ought to have begun the War without a formal Declaration.

Demosthenes was his Advocate, who, mounting the Tribunal of Harangues, employed the Force of his Rhetoric, not more in defending *Diopithes*, than in accusing *Philip* of the Violation of Treaty: ‘For if, ‘says that accomplished Orator, *Philip* is not ‘in Motion with his Forces, or if he does ‘not invade your Allies; or if he does not ‘privately negotiate to procure you Enemies, ‘and if he withholds no Places contrary to the ‘Treaty, let us then observe the Peace: But ‘if it is undeniable that *Philip* has notoriously infringed every Article, even long
‘before

' before the Departure of *Diopithes*; (who
 ' is now charged with Beginning the War)
 ' if he has excited the rest of *Greece* to com-
 ' mence Hostilities against you; who will assert,
 ' that Peace or War is in our Choice? Force to
 ' Force is the only Measure we have left; un-
 ' less we content ourselves with the Supposi-
 ' tion that *Philip* is not at War; while the Cita-
 ' del of *Athens* remains unmolested.' And in a-
 ' nother Place: ' If we disband our Forces, what
 ' shall we do when he invades those Coun-
 ' tries? Why, we will accuse *Diopithes*:
 ' What then? We will send Assistance. But
 ' what if the Winds should prevent their fail-
 ' ing? Then we will trust that *Philip* will
 ' not invade us.—O *Athenians*, would not
 ' *Philip* himself wish that you might reason
 ' so absurdly.' He concludes with the
 strongest Exhortations, rather to approve
 than condemn his Conduct, to enlarge his
 Command rather than disband his Forces.
 Whether or not this Advice was strictly fol-
 lowed we are uncertain; but the Truth of
 his Arguments is too evident to be farther
 explained.

HOWEVER from what has been said, this In-
 ference may be drawn; that sometimes it is
 allowable to begin a War without a formal
 Declaration.

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Philip

Philip, after this, turning his Views to Policy rather than Force, employed all his Agents in *Peloponnesus*, endeavoured to subvert their Councils, and by his winning Behaviour almost persuaded the States, to believe his Cause the most just and equitable: nay, if the Rhetoric of *Demosthenes* had not removed the Impressions his Offers had made on their Hearts, he would have seized the Whole, without enduring the Labour of a single Campaign.

BUT Providence determining otherwise, the Eloquence of one Man overweighed the Power of *Philip*, although united with the Terror of his Army.

BEING baffled in this Negotiation, he turned his Thoughts to *Euboea*, an Island which lay conveniently situated for distressing *Attica*: as he had before attempted the Place without Success, he failed not at this Time to employ every artificial Machinery of Politicks to win over the People to his Interest; bribed Priests, worked on their Superstition, and by the all-potent Influence of Gold opened every Fortress, and gave a ready Inlet to the *Macedonians* to enslave the Country. Yet even then was *Athens* so infatuated, as to believe that his Designs tended not to the Damage
of

of Greece, or that they endangered *Attica* in particular ; which they ought to have apprehended, not more from the Troops of *Philip*, than the Disposition of the Inhabitants of *Euboea*.

THE *Euboeans* were generally in Extremes, either Patriots or Traitors ; of a volatile Temper inclined to Profusion and Luxury ; changeable, haity, yet generous and sincere when attached to a Particular ; being passionate and acting with Violence, their Enmities were dangerous but not lasting ; Indolence was the general Fault of the meaner Sort, which betrayed them unavoidably into Poverty ; yet this was perhaps encouraged by the *Athenians* supplying themselves with Necessaries from other Places. Besides, as the Island was held by a kind of right of Conquest, the Inhabitants, might perhaps imagine themselves under too much Subjection ; a Suspicion without Doubt fomented by the Arts of those whose Interest it was to sow Divisions in the Island. These concurrent Circumstances made them an easy Prey to *Philip* and his Artifices ; who entered the Island with sufficient Troops, and dismantling the most important Fortresses,

settled a kind of Tyranny over the conquered Towns.

HE would have subdued the Remainder, had not the *Athenians* been spirited up to send a General, whose Conduct forced the *Macedonians* to give up their Conquests, and recovered the Whole which they lost.

Philip again disappointed, had recourse to another Project, which must have ruined *Athens*, had the Success been equal to the Design. This was to destroy the Supplies by which that State in a great Measure subsisted ; by attacking the Source from whence they flowed.

Attica being in itself an unfruitful Soil, had all its Corn, with a great Quantity of other Provisions transmitted to them from *Perinthus* and *Byzantium* : for which in Return they were enriched by the *Athenians* so much, that the Prosperity of the one was inseparable from the Welfare of the other ; so united were they in Interest, both for Defence and Commerce.

THE *Athenians* saw the Dangers ; but what could the Republic attempt, when divided by Faction and headed by Leaders unfit for the Command of Armies. Yet there are Times when even the Populace can discern the

the Truth, and form a Judgment equal to the most able Politicians. This was such a Time; the whole Assembly, agitated with Passion, and all the Incentives possible to excite their Courage, decreed Forces to be sent to the Colonies abroad, equal to the Danger which threatened them. They were sensible of their Importance, and willingly decreed Assistance; yet Party Spirit and Faction prevailed so far, that *Chares* was chose to a share in the Command. This *Athenian* was exactly the Man, whom *Philip* himself would have wished for to guide the Enemies Councils: vainly ostentatious of his military Skill, yet compleatly ignorant; he deceived not only the People, but himself, by a fond Imagination, that he was capable of acting as a General. Prodigal to Excess in selfish Luxury, sordidly avaritious; he became despised by the Allies and his own Troops; by the former for his Rapine, and by the latter for his Incapacity. From such a General little could be expected, but even less was performed; and their Affairs would have greatly declined, had not *Phocion* at this dangerous Crisis retrieved the Honour of the Republic, and obliged *Philip* to relinquish

quish an Advantage, which his Arms and Valour had well-nigh acquired.

THIS Hero, whose Character we shall briefly draw, had every natural Accomplishment to form a General; yet through his Reserve and modest Behaviour, had been seldom preferred to the Command. He was steady and firm; deliberate in his Resolutions but quick to execute: stedfastly uncorrupt, easy, and polite in his Behaviour; charming his own Soldiers, and the Allies, by his Sweetness of Temper, and the Mildness of his Carriage, his Valour in War indisputable but his Conduct still more extraordinary; admired for his Abilities in Peace as much as War; a happy Negotiator and an excellent Politician. Such was *Phocion*! who now assumed the Command; and convinced the World how much Regard should be had to the Character of a General, who is sent abroad as a Representative of the People; or at least of the Administration.

To pass a just Encomium on this Commander, we should reflect on the Prejudice the Allies must have received against the *Athenians* by the Conduct of *Chares*; together with the Discouragement which must follow by those Disappointments; and how
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the Spirits of the Enemy must be elated by their Despondence.

IN this View we shall find him shine with a more distinguished Lustre: for what Talents must be required, to recover the Affections of Allies so justly alienated by so injurious a Treatment? Yet *Phocion* executed not only that, but with many signal Defeats obliged the *Macedonian* to recede from his Conquests, and acknowledge that the *Athenians*, with a good Leader, were still capable of reducing *Philip*.

AGAIN disappointed yet not discouraged, he has recourse to Policy, and waits the Event with Patience: these were the proper Weapons of the *Macedonian*, at which his Dexterity was the most remarkable. At this present juncture then it behoved the *Athenians* more particularly with all possible Dilligence to withstand his secret Attacks, not to sink into an indolent Supineness, nor be elated with their Prosperity. They had Reason to imagine the Siege of *Perinthus* and *Byzantium* an open Declaration of War; and while their Troops were regaining the Settlements in *Thrace*, their Privateers, by cruising along the Coast of *Macedon*, and seizing their trading Vessels, greatly distressed the

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the Enemy, and threw *Philip* into so perplexed a Situation that he sued for Peace, and made Offers, as flattering in Appearance, as false in Reality. These were rejected by *Demosthenes*, and the Project overturned, by the immediate Concurrence of the People with the Sentiments of their Orator. Yet ever fertile in Invention, this artful Politician, who had spread Corruption through all the States, by Means of his Emissaries, now began to practise it more universally, and to neglect no Precaution which might secure him the Confidence of the leading Demagogues. These were the Hinges on which his Project turned: he well knew that *Thebes* and *Thessalia* would unite to oppose his Passage, if he seemed to only act for his private Resentment, and not for the common Good. To accomplish his grand Design he had Recourse to his Emissaries, who being well paid for the present, and promised more, executed his Orders with the greatest Alacrity.

THE *Locrians* a small State in *Greece*, had plowed some Church-lands which the Priests of *Apollo* pretended belonged to them alone. The Superstition of the People had before raised a War, concerning the Privilege of sweeping the Temple, which had
given

given *Philip* an Opportunity of seizing the Streights of *Thermopylæ*, and he only wanted a like Event to put him in Possession of *Greece*. This they supplied him with, when they began a War for a few paltry Acres.

THE Advantage that *Philip* gained by the abovementioned War, ought to have deterred them from entering on another; but the *Amphyctyons*, which was the general Council of the States, declared War; War must be had; and War was declared with the *Locrians*.

THE Confederates having wasted their Strength in vain, by weakening each other without deciding the Victory, were obliged for a while to be at Peace, and to sit down contented with their Losses.

AT this Time *Æschines* was sent to the general Council; a Man whose Eloquence and natural Accomplishments were overbalanced by the Wickedness of his Heart, and his insatiable Avarice: He had borne a considerable Office in *Athens*, and deceived many by the Speciousness of his Appearance, and outward Professions; being elected an Ambassador to the States from the Republic, and having received a large Bribe from

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Philip

Philip, he was the more capable of assisting him, as his pretended Zeal had made him the less suspected of so artful a Villainy. Having then expatiated on the Sacrilege, and shewn the Necessity of revenging the Insult, he enlarged upon the Losses they had received, and their Incapacity of terminating the War without foreign Assistance.

HAVING introduced these Arguments with all imaginable Delicacy, he proposed *Philip* of *Macedon* as one adapted to their Purpose; and covered the Danger with such delusive Ornaments, that the *Amphyctions*, deceived by the mere Power of Sounds, consented to their own Slavery, and introduced an Army into the Heart of *Greece*.

Philip, when he heard the Decree, the End and Completion of all his Hopes and Wishes, levied some Forces instantly, and passing the Streights, without concerning himself as before, with the Church Quarrels, hastily seized on the most important Fortress of *Greece*, from whence he might awe the whole, and either enslave the States or bring them to such a Level that they might be no longer a Check to his Designs.

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THE Effect was for the most Part such as he could have expected ; *Greece* dared not move to oppose his Steps, but in a dread Astonishment at his Progress looked on, and in Silence waited for the Determination of her Fate.

In the midst of this general Despondence, *Athens* still shewed a Spirit worthy of a better Fate, had she been guided by the Advice of the wisest : But those factious Declaimers, the very Pests of Society and the Destruction of popular Assemblies, had removed from the Government every Man capable of commanding : The unhappy Effect of too much Liberty.

Demophenes, however, could still with his Eloquence be of Service to the Country : He it was, who inspired the *Thebans* with such Warmth and Ardour for Liberty, that neither the Artifices of *Philip's* Embassadors, nor their natural Timidity, could withstand. This was a Conduct worthy of Liberty itself ; to assist the States almost against their Will, and to attempt the Deliverance of *Greece* almost unassisted.

WITH Regard to the Event, the bad Success was owing entirely to Faction and Party-Spirit ;

Spirit; for had the Generals in Battle, shewn the same Conduct as the Citizens shewed Ardour and Courage, *Greece* would have been delivered, and not enslaved on the decisive Plains of *Chæronæa*.

YET such was her Fate; *Philip* triumphed over Liberty, and the unhappy Conduct of the Confederates became a lasting Example to succeeding Ages, to shew how far Party-Zeal and Prejudice is conducive to the Ruin of a Republic.

THUS I have touched upon the principal Periods of the *Macedonian* and *Athenian* Histories, with all possible Conciseness. Some may perhaps imagine, that I have affected an Obscurity of Stile, and would have more understood than expressed. But to clear all Doubts that may arise, if any Suspicion of that kind should be objected; I declare, that I look upon Perspicuity in writing to be of so inestimable a Value, that any one who claims the Name of Author, ought to reject the Charms of Eloquence, or the mere Pomp of Words; if by that Means he can throw any more light on his Performance.

BUT

BUT it is now Time to address myself to those who have not mistaken my true Meaning, but imagine that my only intention was to draw a Parallel between the Histories, that I might the easier convince those to whom I dedicate this Treatise, how far the Danger has already proceeded, and warn them by my Exhortations, to retard its Progress.

HERE an Objection may be started, I confess, that as the Government of *Athens*, and the Constitution of *England*, are so widely different, the Comparison will not hold altogether; and so consequently this History cannot with any Justice be given as a Parallel: And if the Circumstances are not agreeable the one with the other, then the Force of the Arguments will fall to the Ground.

MY Answer to this will be: I grant the Difference of their Government; but deny the Conclusion, because I have only traced their Conduct, without describing their Method of governing. I grant also that my Design will be effectually destroyed, if the Facts should not bear a due Correspondence. — But let the Facts therefore speak for themselves.

OUR

OUR present Government is by the Majority of the Nation, thought so excellent, and so harmoniously connected, that it would be depreciating its Merit, to compare it with any other in present or former Ages: Yet even this may be destroyed by Faction, Party-Zeal, and intestine Jars. With these alone, shall I compare it to the *Athenian* Republic; and I wish I could say with Justice, that even here it would not bear a Comparison.

WE have seen how rival Parties have preferred a *Chares* to the Command; how Corruption prevailed in the public Council, and how the Orators would have persuaded the People that the most flagrant Acts of *Philip's* Injustice, were done out of Kindness and Good-will.

I do not here mean to insinuate that any of our illustrious Senate are venal; but if there should be some few, there still remains a Number impregnable to the Attacks of *Philip's* Louis d'Ors, and sufficient to over-balance the corrupted Division. Yet this will little avail, while in the rival Parties of our *Demosthenes* and *Æschines*, we see Prejudice prevail over Judgment.

A Union should then be effected, since by these mutual Animosities we forward the Intrigues of our Enemies: Would they not at any Price sow Divisions among our Councils, while they insensibly aggrandized their own Dominion, and left the rival Parties in *England* the sole Satisfaction that they had been made the Dupes of *France*? Then we may boast we have made a Peace, and procured a present Repose, that we may be afterwards Slaves to Perpetuity: This is a melancholy Reflection! But for the Truth, let me appeal to the History I have just recited; let us compare the Facts, and then judge of the Consequence.

WHEN the Peace was proclaimed throughout all the Dominions of the *European* Powers, each Side seemed to lament their hard Conditions, as if none had been a Gainer: But *France* was, and she alone; to witness her Incroachments, her numerous Invasions, her frequent Campaigns, in which she never lost any considerable Advantage, but gained many: we shall find her Power extended beyond its former Limits, in a very large Degree; we shall find her politic Conduct to be such that her Acquisitions were
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certain, and what she was to surrender lessened only the Shadow of her Power, while the Substance was left entire and undiminished.

NOR let it be deemed a Falsity to assert, that the Power of the *French* is larger since the Peace, than it was at the Commencement of the late War. No surely, says an *Englishman*, their Influence over us is greatly lessened by the Demolition of *Dunkirk* : *Dunkirk* is demolished by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and renewed by the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle* : Well, if we suppose it is so, I would fain know what difference a few Bastions could make in the politic System of *Europe* : But let this over sanguine Patriot but pass over the Water, and see how this great Demolition has been repaired ; he will there behold every Artifice which Fortification will supply, to render a Place impregnable : Yet *England* may rest secure, because *Dunkirk* is demolished !

BUT even these Politicians, so secure of Peace, are at a Loss how to account for their Conduct in the *West-Indian* Colonies, and by their Silence seem to confess that it requires a particular Explanation. With Regard

gard to their Importance, I have so often in this Work, and so strongly expressed myself on that Head, as to render a farther Representation needless; and only refer those who are desirous to be better instructed, to a late published Pamphlet; entitled, "Reflections on the Importance of our *American Plan-tations*."

THE *French* Conduct appears here in its true Light; their secret and deceitful Practises with the Indian Chiefs, their alienating the Affections of the Natives by their cunning Treatment, their unjust Encroachments during the Time when the most solemn Treaty subsisted; all prove the first Infringement of Peace to be on the Side of *France*, and not of *England*.

WHAT then could a maritime State attempt for her own Defence? Is not a naval Armament the only proper Bulwark to resist Invaders? And if so, may not that State, when attacked, make Use of these Arms? But *England* has been attacked; and if that is allowed, the Consequence is too plain to be more particularly expressed.

If then, we may exclaim with *Demosthenes*, they have been deficient in every Article

of the Treaty, the Engagement on our Side is dissolved; and we may commence Hostilities without Declaration of War, as against Pirates or Robbers.

BUT as in these hasty and sudden Attacks, we often rashly undertake without Premeditation, and are hurried into a War unprepared and undisciplined; so in this Place there is a large Field to commend the Care of the Administration, who at so short a Notice could provide a Fleet and an Army, not only capable of spreading Terror into the *French* Troops and Settlements, but to put an effectual Stop to the Progress of their Arms.

YET even here we suffered by the Misfortune of Party-Prejudice, and saw another *Chares* exalted to Power and Preferment, while the Virtues of a *Phocion* lay concealed: But Merit will buoy up at the last: and what Praises are due to him who could in so short a Space recover the Affections of the alienated Nations, and with unequal Forces not only engage but extirpate a victorious Army, and drive the Troops of this modern *Philip* from their Fortresses and Settlements?

IF we may judge of the future by the past, what may we not expect from an Hero who
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has proved himself unsuffering by Pain or Fatigue ; whose Conduct is equal to his Valour, and whose Fortitude is superior to both.

SUCH are those who may be esteemed the true Supports of a State : nor are there wanting a sufficient Number at this Time in *England*, who may justly be entitled to such an Appellation. Him then we ought with all our Power to assist, and by supporting him with all necessary Implements whereby he may work his Design, convince our Enemies that we are on our Guard in every Place.

LET us not endeavour so much to extend, as protect our Colonies ; let us trust to ourselves, without Dependance on the Forces of the allied States ; and we can never again be deceived with false insignificant Quotas, and treacherous and evasive Embassies : We shall again rise to the same Dignity, and exert the same Superiority which *Britannia* maintained when she held the political Balance of the Power of *Europe*.

BUT if we neglect all proper Cautions, if our Councils remain disunited, if clashing Interests prefer their own to the public Good, what may we not apprehend from the Vi-

gillance of *Philip*, and from our Insensibility.

YET if we believe and trust to the indolence of particulars, the Treaty is still preserved; although our Allies around us have separately been attempted by the grand Corruptor, and are so far disabled that by much the greater part are become almost only Provinces of *France*.

Boeotia is now so reduced as to be scarce able to stile herself independant; and can only now complain of her Weakness, when she might have exerted her Dominion: *Thes-salia* is too weak, and subject, to be mentioned in the Class of Allies; and *Lacedæmon* is too degenerate to be matched with *Athens* or *Macedonia*.

FROM whence then must we receive Assistance? Shall we again be deceived by the *Boeotians*; or rely on the Favour of the *Lacedæmonians*? Will the *Phoceans*, oppressed and sunk with Calamities, be able to help us? No; although with the strictest Alliance they have preserved a Faith inviolate, yet their miserable and desponding State, demands even more Assistance than *England* could supply.

HAPPY

HAPPY the Monarch whose Care extends to universal Charity, and blest the People who can view them with such disinterested Compassion.—Every *Englishman* will perceive for what Monarch, and for what People, I design this Eulogium. These are the chief Alliances of *Great Britain*; and on which of them she ought to rely would be hard to determine.

LET Negotiations pass on Negotiations, but let this Maxim be adhered to, That *England* depends alone on the power of *England*. Having inculcated this Maxim, I would not have it understood that we should neglect our Allies, or their Interests; but only as to what concerns the Defence of our own Country, since our Confidence in others has proved always uncertain, and often times more to our Prejudice than Advantage.

WITH Regard to *Euboea* (an Island so contiguous and connected that it deserves to be particularly considered) the Practices of *Philipp*, and the Artifices of designing Priests, are too palpable to be concealed; and tho' as yet no Forces have entered the Place, yet we may distinguish the inward Workings of Policy, as attempting to establish a Power which

which the Interests of our Country require should be stified in its Infancy.

THE supine and lazy Conduct of *Athens* had nearly effected their own Ruin ; had not the vigorous Genius of one Commander preserved them from that imminent destruction. Those who are the best acquainted with this Point of antient History, will in the clearest Manner discern how this Conjunction was the Crisis on which the future Prosperity of *Athens*, or a final Conclusion of its Liberty, depended.

SUCH is the present Period, with Regard to the Interest of Great Britain ; not that I assert immediate Slavery will be the Consequence, but, unless we ardently exert ourselves, that our Influence, even now much lessened, will suffer a still farther Diminution.

I have, I think, compared past Facts with what has happened to ourselves, as far as they will go ; I hope with some Degree of Propriety : As my Intention is clear, I hope my Performance will not want an Explanation.

As I am drawing near a Conclusion, I shall only endeavour to display the Schemes
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of *Philip*, and offer a few Conjectures on the Manner we should oppose them. The *Macedonian* Schemes have been seen to hang on the small Point of a mere ecclesiastical Dispute; the Product of three or four Acres; which involved *Greece* in so difficult a War, that they embraced Slavery to be at Peace.

THE Designs of *France*, although so concealed, seem to be turning on an Affair of as little Importance: This is the Election of a King of the *Romans*: For the Empire will be the Consequence; and when such an Acquisition of Dominions shall come, will *Hungary* withstand the Torrent? or the *Italian* States refuse to submit to the Power of *France*; already accustomed to Subjection, and to the Yoke of the Empire?

If this is gained, will *Holland* withstand the Shock, even now unable to oppose its Progress? *Spain*, by Nature formed to resist the *French* Power, now gained by Alliance, will be found too weak and pusillanimous to attempt its Reduction: What then will *Britain* assume to herself, after so general a Defection; will she not be obliged to take up with Concessions, unjust and dishonourable?

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Certainly she will ; it is therefore her grand Aim to hinder this important Event.

THAT this is the Design of the *French*, will, I suppose, be considered as probable, by any one who reflects on the Means they use to accomplish their Ends. Corruption is the Principle which *Philip* has diffused so plentifully through the *G——n* States, that he will render them obsequious to his Will ; by soothing *Spain* with false Promises of Advantage, and by a constant and perpetual Care of their fortified Places.

BUT they seem still to think that *England* is too powerful ; and by their late insinuating Measures, and their present Violence, seem to leave no Method unattempted which may effect a Reduction of our Influence on the Continent : No one is certain but even *England* may feel the Weight of an Invasion ; or, which is more probable, that *Ireland* may suffer under the Tyranny of *France* ; or that some Dupe to their Designs, may stir up a Rebellion in *Scotland* : Any one of these would produce the Effects they desire ; that of drawing our Troops from the Assistance of Allies whom it is our Interest to defend.

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THESE are some few of the Methods they may take, and, if not vigorously opposed, will produce the melancholy Effect I before mentioned, of subjecting our Allies to the Dominion of our Enemies.

THE War to which we are provoked by this *Gallic* Perfidy, is not likely to be soon concluded: The Subject is too important to be hastily decided, by either *England* or *France*: And for this Reason our Measures should be taken with the utmost Caution, and exerted with Vigour.

LET no Consideration draw us from supporting our naval Armament; let us augment our Forces in *America*, but keep a sufficient Number to guard our own Coasts; while our Ships harraßs the Enemy's Trade and Navigation, and cut off their foreign Supplies.

BY the reverse Conduct, we suffered them in 1710, and the following Years, to be enrich'd, prolong'd the War, and were compell'd to agree to a felonious Peace, thro' that Oversight.

THE *Athenians* herein acted wisely, and obliged *Philip* to sue for Peace; but they committed an Error in not acting before,

when their general good called upon them to defend their Allies : They were deceived by Artificè: Let us therefore not endeavour to imitate their Conduct, but reap Advantage from their Errors : Let us vigorously support our Allies ; not with bare Promises, but with Deeds ; nevertheless let our Dependance be on ourselves alone : Let us make Diversions to draw the Enemies Troops from our Colonies ; but by no Means act the offensive Part, so far that we neglect the defensive. We should be found every where in Readiness ; and, by a Treatment altogether mild and equitable, secure the Friendship of the *Europeans*, and our other Neighbours, whose Affections may be wavering, though no ways alienated.

THIS, together with domestic Troops, will secure us at home, and convince *France* that we may again be terrible to the House of *Bourbon*. Were this Plan for our Operations followed, I am apt to imagine that our Allies on the Continent would be confirmed in their Friendship ; that the States of *Germany*, who act for *France*, through Fear, and not with Affection, would be glad to renounce a League which must give her universal Domi-
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nion on the Continent of *Europe*: That *Spain* would at least be neutral, we are certain; and that *Holland* would again assert her Liberty.

THIS might be effected by Force and Policy, but never by Bribery and Corruption: But if, like *Athens*, we supinely rest till this modern *Philip* has seized the Empire, this meer contemptible Name of King of the *Romans*, will be a Cause of Calamities unspeakable to the Allies in general, and to *England* in particular.

WE shall find no modern *Bæotians* ready to hazard their Lives for their Country, but rather to submit tamely to the Yoke; our Power must inevitably decrease; nor would it then be in our Determination, even to finish the War like *Athens*, by one decisive Engagement.

By the drawing these parallel Facts, I have in some Degree, I hope, answered my proposed Design, of exhorting my Country to use all possible Precautions against the Policy, Perfidy, and Arms of *France*, by setting the Danger in Prospect before them: A Danger which their own Fears encrease; but which,

which, if we exert ourselves according to our natural Strength and Interest, will diminish as we approach nearer.

IN the Characters I have drawn, I believe I have not exceeded the Truth; and if my Inferences are not deduced like a Statesman, let the Intention justify the Attempt. But if ever Indolence, Luxury, and Corruption should become the sole Ends of the Administration, in vain shall our *Phocion* defend our *American* Plantations; in vain shall our great and royal Commander, exert a laudable Discipline amongst his Troops; and in vain shall our Sovereign, for his paternal Indulgence, be styled the Father of his People.



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